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ABSTRACT

The relationship between male and female adolescents' political orientations and their classes of origin versus their projected classes of destination (related to class mobility) was investigated in 665 high school seniors attending both public and parochial schools. It was predicted that adolescents' projected classes of destination would be more strongly related than their classes of origin to their political orientations, and that this would be true for females as well as males. Each student's class of origin was determined by classifying the highest ranked occupation of either parent according to the Duncan Index of Socio-Economic Status. Projected class of destination was determined by similarly ranking the student's future occupation career choice and by a combined measure of both effort and ability determinants of future college plans. Measurement of political-social attitudes consisted of scales of economic and non-economic liberalism and the authoritarian scale. Results were analyzed for four groups: middle class stable, middle class downwardly mobile, working class stable, and working class upwardly mobile. The results of several analyses generally supported the predictions: Multiple Regression Analysis on the combined measure of political orientation indicated that for both males and females, the variance contributed by their projected class of destination was substantially greater than that contributed by their class of origin. Findings for the separate measures of political orientation indicated some sex differences. Correlations for the two groups of adolescents classified as mobile show that both males' and females' responses to each of the political scales were in the same direction as those of the stable class for which they were presumably destined. (Author/SS)

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SOCIAL MOBILITY AND POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS OF MALE AND FEMALE ADOLESCENTS: AN EMPIRICAL EXAMINATION OF THE ANTICIPATORY SOCIALIZATION CONCEPT

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Abstract

In a study of whether the projected class of destination of adolescents would have a greater impact on their political orientations than their class of origin, it was hypothesized that adolescents' projected class of destination would have a greater impact on their political orientations than their class of origin. Furthermore, a major question examined was whether class and mobility factors would have the same impact on the political orientations of females as they were expected to have on the political orientations of males.

It was the authors' contention that, despite the lack of attention given to females in past studies of social mobility, the subjective awareness of mobility potential would be as influential on the political orientations of females as it would be on males.

A survey of 665 high school seniors attending both public and parochial schools in a northeastern state was carried out to examine the research question posed above.

The primary conclusion reached was that the projected class of destination of adolescents has a greater impact on their political orientations than their class of origin. Furthermore, it was found that the process which results in the ability of mobile adolescents to identify with the political values of their class of destination rather than their class of origin, operates for both males and females.

Most of research on the political orientations of adolescents has left out class and mobility as possible explanatory factors. It is hoped that the present research will call attention to the value of including these factors in future research in this area.

Introduction

Are individuals who have a considerable likelihood of either future upward mobility, downward mobility or class stability shaped by these anticipated statuses in the formulation of their political orientations?

This question was examined by studying the relationship between class, mobility and the political orientations of adolescents.

The principle questions examined were whether or not social class and mobility potential are related to the political orientations of adolescents, and if such relationships do exsist, do they prevail for both males and females.

These questions were studied by comparing the relationship between adolescents' classes of origin and their political orien-

tations, to the relationship between their projected classes of destination and their political orientations.

The sociological significance of the research lies in understanding how the individual in a mobile position is influenced by the norms of anticipated statuses so that he or she may establish a consciousness of kind with his or her anticipated reference group.

The research examined whether the consequences of mobility rest not only with attaining status and financial security, but with developing a class normative perspective on political issues.

Previous research into the area of adolescent political socialization has focused on the role of the family (Davies,1973), the school (Jennings and Langton, 1969), or peer group relations (Maccoby, 1954) in the political socialization process. This research has almost uniformly neglected to consider the possible impact of social class and mobility potential in this process.

The lack of attention given to class and mobility is surprising in view of the attention they have received in sociological research on adult political orientations (Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee, 1954; Lipset, 1963; Lipset, 1964; Hyman and Sheatsley, 1953; Thompson, 1971).

Attention has been focused on the relationship between mobility and adolescent political orientation in a study conducted by O'Kane (1968, 1977). In this research, an attempt was made to determine if a relationship existed between the potential future mobility of working class male students attending a parochial high school and their political orientations.

In the present study a further analysis of the research question was undertaken with the introduction of gender as a potentially significant variable. In addition, students attending both public and private schools were studied.

Therefore, the present research should contribuce to the field of adolescent political socialization by substantiating or calling into question, some of the previous findings made, by extending the scope of the research to a new and more diverse population of adolescents.

The inclusion of females into the purview of this research should provide new insights into the study of sex roles. This is

because of the lack of attention given to females in past studies of social class and mobility.

Many previous studies of social class and mobility simply left out women (Sewell, 1971), or determined a woman's class and mobility by the status of the man she married (Warner, Meeker and Wells, 1949; Turner, 1964; Wallace, 1966). Studies of adolescents have asked girls what kinds of jobs they would like their future husbands to hold (Douvan and Adelson, 1966), or simply left out females (O'Kane, 1968; Bachman and Van Duinen, 1971).

These previous studies have assumed that a female's contribution to her own mobility potential was mainly a consequence of marriageability and marriage. The present research takes an opposing perspective. It is the authors' contention that the treatment of females in the past was a reflection of the former status of females in American society, and as such, may have been valid at the time. However, it is apparent that significant changes have taken place in the past twenty-five years, particularly in the past decade, which make it likely that women now play a more significant role in determining their own future statuses through socialization and education in ways more similar to those of males.

The comparison of the impact of mobility on the political orientations of males and females will have little meaning unless it can first be assumed that class and mobility are somehow related to political orientations.

In this regard, the literature of sociology contains much support for the belief that the working class in America is relatively more conservative, authoritarian, distrustful of civil liberties, and non-supportive of civil rights issues, than the middle class (Lipset, 1963; Lipset, 1964; Stouffer, 1955; Hyman and Sheatsley, 1953; Christie, 1954; Janowitz and Marvick, 1953).

However, there appears to be contradictory evidence that upward social mobility leads to a conservative political orientation (Lipset, 1963; Lipset, 1964; Lipset and Zetterberg, 1954; Reisman and Glazer, 1964; Lopreato, 1967).

Additional research on mobility indicates that upward social mobility leads to a more liberal opinion framework (Baggot, 1978; Curtis, 1958; Hodge and Trieman, 1966; Rosenberg, 1977; Tumin, 1958). This is explained by several researchers who claim that

increased education, which is associated with upward social mobility will liberalize the individual's attitudes toward democracy and tolerance for others. (Smith, 1948; Trow, 1957; Selvin and Hagstrom, 1960).

This apparent contradiction may be clarified with the recognition that the concepts liberalism or conservatism are not unidimensional but rather multidimensional in content. A considerable amount of research supports the idea that an individual or class may be politically conservative on certain issues while liberal on others (Centers, 1949; Kelly and Chambliss, 1966; Kerlinger, 1967; Kerr, 1952; Lipset, 1963; Lipset, 1964; Mitchell, 1966; O'Kane, Jensen, Barenblatt, Cochran, 1973; Smith, 1948). This literature further supports Lipset's contention that liberalism and/or conservatism should be viewed as dichotomous, consisting of economic and non-economic criteria.

Economic liberalism would include an individual's attitude toward the redistribution of income, trade-unionism, welfare, unemployment and wage benefits, etc. Non-economic liberalism includes an individual's attitude toward civil rights, civil liberties, internationalism, etc. (Lipset, 1965).

Research by Lipset, Smith and others, have shown that "economic liberalism is correlated inversely with socio-economic status, while non-economic liberalism is associated positively with socio-economic status." (Lipset, 1965).

Thus, the primary research question emerges: will adolescents hold to the political orientations characteristic of their class of origin, or will they adopt a new set of attitudes characteristic of their projected class of destination? Furthermore, will social class and mobility potential have the same relationships to the political orientations of females as they have for males?

The concept of anticipatory socialization was useful to this study because it was expected that adolescents who had a realistic probability of upward or downward mobility, and who were aware of their chances for mobility would prepare themselves for their future class roles by taking on the political attitudes characteristic of the group to which they were headed.

An additional question which is examined here is whether there are significant differences in the political orientations (liberal

or conservative) between working class and middle class adolescents.

It was expected that the findings of this research would show that the projected class of destination has a greater impact on their political orientations than their class of origin. Furthermore, it was expected that this relationship prevails for both males and females.

Methodology

A questionnaire was administered to 665 high school seniors attending public and parochial high schools in an urban county in a northeastern state.

The survey was conducted in May and June of the students' senior year of high school. High school seniors were chosen because they best represented the group of adolescents who were most conscious of their future educational plans and possible careers.

The class of origin of each student was determined by asking each respondent to indicate the usual occupation of either parent. The parents' occupations were then ranked according to the Duncan Index of Socio-Economic Status (Reiss, Duncan, Hatt and North, 1961) The highest ranked occupation of either parent was then used to determine the student's class of origin with the point of 45 on the scale of 90 used to separate working class from middle class occupations. Therefore, students whose parent's highest occupation fell below 45 were classified as having working class origins, while those whose parent's occupations were 45 or higher were considered to have middle class origins. The point of 45 was used because it separated most of the manual unskilled and semi-skilled occupations which usually require a maximum of a high school education, from white collar occupations that usually require special training or education beyond high school.

After determining the student's class of origin, it was next necessary to find a measure of future class of destination for each student. This was determined by using two indicators: future occupational career choice, and realistic educational intent.

For the first indicator, each student was asked to give three possible careers for themselves. These occupations were then averaged and the average was ranked according to the Duncan Index of Socio-Economic Status. Due to anticipated changes in the occu-

pational structure such as increased technological development, a cut off point of 50 was used to separate future working class occupations from future middle class occupations.[1] Thus for the first indicator of projected class, students whose career expectations averaged 49 or below were considered to be working class and those with an average of 50 or higher were considered to be middle class.

Since future occupational class may be influenced by idealistic rather than realistic expectations, a measure of realistic higher educational intent was also used to determine the student's potential class mobility or stability. This measure combined both subjective and objective determinants of future college plans.[2]

Using all of the indicators described above, the students' projected class, based on their potential for mobility or stability, was determined in the following manner.

Those students with working class origins who chose middle class careers according to the Duncan Index, and who had a composite academic rating sufficient for predicted collegiate success were considered to be candidates for upward mobility (N= 167). Since the remaining members of the sample with working class origins had chosen working class occupations or did not show the interest or ability to do college work they were considered to be stationary members of the working class (N = 275).

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[1]The procedures used to determine the class of the respondents are similar to those used by O'Kane so that comparisons between studies can be made. However, some modifications to these procedures were made, including consideration of both parents' occupations in determining class of origin (O'Kane, 1968).

[2]The subjective measure of college intent was determined by the actual effort made by the student to realize his or her desire to go to college. For example, the respondents were asked: If they plan to go to college, if so, when? Have they applied? etc.

The objective measure of realistic higher education intent was used to determine if the students who expressed a desire to go to college had the academic ability to be accepted and succeed in college.

This objective measure consisted of a composite academic ability index which included the student's class rank and combined score on the Verbal and Mathematics sections of the Scholastic Aptitude Test. Discussions with high school guidance counselors and college admissions officers helped to determine a cut-off point normally necessary for entrance into college.

These students from middle class families, who chose future working class occupations, or who expressed no interest in attending college, or who had academic records below the minimum expected for collegiate success were considered to be downwardly mobile (N = 103). The remaining students from middle class homes who satisfied the above criteria were considered to be stable members of the middl class (N = 120).

Measurement of Politicl Attitudes

Three measures of political-social attitude were used to test for the student's political attitudes, as well as serve to test for the unidimensionality of liberalism-conservatism.

a. Scale of Economic Liberalism - This Likert type scale consisted of twenty items dealing with content issues such as: welfare, labor unions, guaranteed annual income, etc.

b. Scale of Non-Economic Liberalism - This scale also contained twenty items which dealt with such issues as civil liberties, civil rights, militarism, etc.

c. The Authoritarian Scale (F Scale) - The F Scale used here consisted of twenty items from the F Scale developed by T. Adorno et al. (1950).

To analyze the results, the respondents were divided into four groups. The class of origin of the respondents was determined by separating the respondents into either the middle class or working class on the basis of the Duncan Index score of the heads of households. These two groups were then further subdivided on the basis of their predicted future mobility. It was determined if they would move from their class of origin (either upward or downward) or whether they would remain in their class of origin. Thus, four groups were formed by combining class of origin and class of destination: middle class stable, middle class downwardly mobile, working class stable, and working class upwardly mobile. If Merton's theory of anticipatory socialization is correct, the two mobile groups should show significant shifts away from the attitudes of their class of origin and toward those of their perceived class of destinations.

Findings

To facilitate this investigation a series of correlations were

conducted separately for males and females between alternating pairs of social class groups and the political scales.

The social class groups were set up as dummy variables so that in each case the working class of destination (working class stable and middle class downwardly mobile) was ranked 0 while the projected middle class of destination was ranked 1.

Additionally, the political scales were ranked so that a high score represented a liberal or anti-authoritarian response while a low score revealed the reverse.

Table 1 shows the correlation coefficients for the class groupings.

Grouping I - The Stable Adolescents - The correlations between the political measures indicate that both the males and females who are projected to be stationary members of the middle class respond more liberally to the Scale of Non-Economic Liberalism and less authoritarian to the F Scale than the male and female students who are projected to be stationary members of the working class.

Grouping II - The Mobile Adolescents - A positive relationship with each of the political measures is found. The data is Table 1 show that both the mobile males' and females' responses to each of the political scales are in the same direction as those of the stable students of the class for which they are presumably destined, rather than in the direction of their class of origin.

Grouping III - Adolescents with a Working Class of Origin - The results for Grouping III indicate support for the hypothesis that males and females will be similarly influenced by their class of destination. In most cases there is a statistically significant positive relationship between both the males and females in Grouping III and the political scales. However, an exception to this is found in the response of the males to the Scale of Economic Liberalism.

Grouping IV - Adolescents with a Middle Class of Origin - The data for Grouping IV also support the hypothesis since a positive correlation with each of the political scales is found for both males and females. Once again, there are some differences between the males and females in their responses, however, these do not alter he interpretation of support for the hypothesis.

The use of multiple regression analysis was next used to assist the researchers in examining the relative impact of class of origin

Table 1. Correlation Coefficients between Class Groupings and Political Measures For Males and females

		Economic Liberalism	Non-Economic Liberalism	F Scale	Economic Non-Economic Lib.	Combined	N Females	N Males
I Stable Students A = 0, c=1	M	.07	.36c	.37c	.25b	.33c		180
	F	.10	.22b	.34c	.16a	.33c	215	
II Mobile Students D=0, B=1	M	.20a	.30c	.25b	.24b	.27b		138
	F	.23b	.12	.23b	.15	.27b	132	
III Working Class Origins A=0, B=1	M	.00	.17a	.30c	.04	.19b		214
	F	.20b	.16a	.30c	.19b	.29c	228	
IV Middle Class Origins D=0, C=1	M	.29c	.54c	.36c	.47c	.45c		104
	F	.13	.18a	.29c	.13	.32c	119	

a=P<.05
b=P<.01
c=P<.001

A=Working Class Stable Students
B=Working Class Upwardly Mobile Students
C=Middles Class Stable Students
D=Middle Class Downwardly Mobile Students

and projected class of destination on the political orientations of adolescent males and females. The relationships between political orientations and other variables were also examined with the use of multiple regression analysis.

The data are examined to see if the contribution made by class of origin to the political orientations of males and females is different from the contribution made by their projected class of destination.

A multiple regression analysis for each of the political measur is presented for both males and females. In each case, the regressi equation for the males is presented initially, followed by the regre sion equation for the females. This begins with the multiple regres sion analysis for economic liberalism for males in Table 2 followed by the regression for females in Table 3.

1. Economic Liberalism

Table 2. Males: Multiple Regression of Economic Liberalism on Class of Origin and Class of Destination. (N = 318).

Variable	Simple r	Multiple R	R^2	Increase in R^2	F	P
Class of Origin	-.05	.050	.003	.003	.797	N/S
Class of Destination	.08	.100	.010	.008	2.403	N/S

Table 3. Females: Multiple Regression of Economic Liberalism on Clas of Origin and Class of Destination. (N = 347).

Variable	Simple r	Multiple R	R^2	Increase in R^2	F	P
Class of Origin	-.01	.01	.000	.000	.032	N/S
Class of Destination	.17	.175	.030	.031	10.026	.01

The data show that the class of origin of both males and female does not make much of contribution to the Multiple R^2. The class of destination of males also does not make a statistically signigi- cant contribution to the R^2.

It appears that females differ more on this issue than do males These data demonstrate that middle class oriented females respond significantly more liberally to this measure of economic liberalism than their working class peers while no such significant difference

appears for the males.

2. Non-Economic Liberalism

Table 4. Males: Multiple Regression of Non-Economic Liberalism on Class of Origin and Class of Destination. (N = 318).

Variable	Simple r	Multiple R	R^2	Increase in R^2	F	P
Class of Origin	.07	.070	.005	.005	1.566	N/S
Class of Destination	.29	.292	.085	.080	27.885	.001

Table 5. Females: Multiple Regression of Non-Economic Liberalism on Class of Origin and Class of Destination. (N = 347).

Variable	Simple r	Multiple R	R^2	Increase in R^2	F	P
Class of Origin	.09	.090	.008	.008	2.597	N/S
Class of Destination	.18	.189	.036	.028	9.050	.01

The data from the regression on non-economic liberalism show that for both males and females there is a relatively small amount of variation explained by a student's class of origin while there is a statistically significant contribution made by the student's projected class of destination.

While the data do confirm the hypothesis, there is a clear difference between males and females in the relative impact of class of destination on the responses to this measure of political orientation, with class of destination having a greater impact for males than for females. Class of destination explains 8% of the variation in the regression on non-economic liberalism for males, while it explains only 2.8% of the variation for females.

3. F Scale

Table 6. Males: Multiple Regression of F Scale on Class of Origin and Class of Destination. (N = 318).

Variable	Simple r	Multiple R	R^2	Increase in R^2	F	P
Class of Origin	.10	.100	.010	.010	3.212	N/S
Class of Destination	.32	.326	.106	.096	34.138	.001

Table 7. Females: Multiple Regression of F Scale on Class of Origin and Class of Destination. (N = 347).

Variable	Simple r	Multiple R	R^2	Increase in R^2	F	P
Class of Origin	.15	.150	.023	.023	7.320	.01
Class of Destination	.31	.324	.105	.082	29.109	.001

A review of the data show that class of origin makes a significant contribution to the equation for females but not for males. This finding does not prevent an interpretation of these results which would support the hypothesis since, what is of importance in this study is the relative influence of class of origin to class of destination on the political orientations of male and female adolescents.

On this matter the data are convincingly in support of the hypothesis since for both males and females the increase on the R^2 made by the class of destination is substantially greater than that made by class of origin. For males, class of origin contributes .010 to the R^2 while class of destination contributes .096. For females, class of origin contributes .023 to the R^2 while class of destination contributes .082.

In both cases, it should be recalled that class of destination is entered into the equation after class of origin is allowed to contribute all that it can.

4. Economic and Non-Economic Liberalism

Table 8. Males: Multiple Regression of Economic and Non-Economic Liberalism on Class of Origin and Class of Destination. (N = 318).

Variable	Simple r	Multiple R	R^2	Increase in R^2	F	P
Class of Origin	.03	.030	.001	.001	.286	N/S
Class of Destination	.18	.180	.032	.032	10.344	.01

Table 9. Females: Multiple Regression of Economic and Non-Economic Liberalism on Class of Origin and Class of Destination. (N = 347).

Variable	Simple r	Multiple R	R^2	Increase in R^2	F	P
Class of Origin	.04	.040	.002	.002	.510	N/S
Class of Destination	.17	.170	.029	.027	8.932	.01

The findings for the separate measures of economic liberalism and non-economic liberalism indicated that class of destination made a significant contribution to the regression on economic liberalism for females but not for males, while the contribution of class of destination to non-economic liberalism was significant for both males and females with the males having a larger percent of increase in the R^2.

This combined Scale of Economic and Non-Economic Liberalism merges these two scales and the issues they measure in order to compare these results to other studies which often combine these measures and use liberalism as a one dimensional measure.

The data from this regression show that for both males and females, the contribution to the R^2 made by class of origin is negligible, while the increase in the R^2 due to projected class of destination is much greater, and in both cases is significant at the .01 level.

The results of the regression on this measure demonstrate that the impact of class of destination on adolescents' political orientations is much greater than that of class of origin for both males and females.

5. Combined Measure of Economic Liberalism, Non-Economic Liberalism and F Scale.

Table 10. Males: Multiple Regression of the Combined Measure on Class of Origin and Class of Destination. (N = 318).

Variable	Simple r	Multiple R	R^2	Increase in R^2	F	P
Class of Origin	.06	.060	.004	.004	1.149	N/S
Class of Destination	.28	.281	.079	.076	25.992	.001

Table 11. Females: Multiple Regression of the Combined Measure on Class of Origin and Class of Destination. (N = 347).

Variable	Simple r	Multiple R	R^2	Increase in R^2	F	P
Class of Origin	.11	.110	.012	.012	3.895	.05
Class of Destination	.32	.324	.105	.093	32.870	.001

The Combined Measure of liberalism incorporates the Scale of Economic Liberalism, the Scale of Non-Economic Liberalism and the F Scale into a single broad measure of political orientation.

The results of the regression on the Combined Measure show that for both males and females, the contribution made to the R^2 by their projected class of destination is substantially greater than that contributed by their class of origin. The contribution due to class of origin for males is .04% and for females is 1.2% while the contribution made by class of destination is 7.0% for males and 9.3% for females.

These findings support the basic premise of this research, that for both males and females, the projected class of destination of adolescents has a greater impact on their political orientations than their class of origin.

Conclusions

The primary conclusion reached in this study is that the projected class of destination of adolescents has a greater impact on their political orientations than their class of origin. Furthermore, it has been found that the process which results in the ability of mobile adolescents to identify with the political values of their class of destination rather than their class of origin, operates for both males and females.

The authors contend that anticipatory socialization is a possible explanation of how the political orientations of adolescents come to resemble the political orientations of their projected class of destination rather than their class of origin. However, the indeterminancy of the direct influence of anticipatory socialization on these adolescents leaves a definitive explanation of these findings open to further examination.

The conclusions reached in this study have a wide range of

implications. Since most of the research on the political orientations of adolescents has left out class and mobility as explanatory factors, it is hoped that the present research will call attention to the value of including these factors in future research in this area.

These findings also demonstrate that it would be a mistake for researchers who are interested in the influence of class factors on adolescents' attitudes or behaviors to consider only the class of origin of the adolescents in their study. The social-psychological process of anticipating future statuses should be included in any future research done in this area.

Furthermore, the conclusions reached here demonstrate that the past practice of excluding females from studies of mobility might result in invalid assumptions about the role of women in their own mobility, in the present. The social-psychological processes which enable mobile males to identify with the political orientations of their projected class of destination operate just as effectively for females.

The findings of this study also produced conclusions concerning the relationship between socioeconomic status and political orientations in America.

The data illustrated a significant tendency for adolescents who were projected to enter the middle class to respond more liberally and less authoritarian to a variety of political measures than adolescents who were projected to enter the working class.

Another dimension of the problem of political orientations in the present study, concerns the nature of liberalism/conservatism as political orientations. With the use of three separate measures of liberalism/conservatism,* it was found that a one dimensional application of these orientations can be misleading.

Researchers who adhere to a unidimensional approach to liberalism/conservatism may falsely assume that individuals hold broad political orientations when they, in fact, cannot or do not perceive any relationship between economic and non-economic issues.

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*The three dimensions of liberalism measured were: economic liberalism, non-economic liberalism and authoritarianism.

It has been shown that both male and female adolescents' projected class of destination has a greater impact on their political orientations than their class of origin. However, further examination of the processes responsible for this must be undertaken. While it is the authors' view that anticipatory socialization is largely responsible for this finding, the indeterminacy of this interpretation necessitates a more intensive examination of the social-psychological processes which are herein assumed to be taking place.

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